1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33)1936 SR9 Carib SR9

572 times assist each other in work, sometimes hunt together, and enjoy each other's conversation and company.

572 621 Friendship is, however, a factor in the formation and stability of the settlement. Thus, Cook's original presence in Sawari was due to his friendship with Miller. A weakening of that relation gave rise to Cook's removal of his residence away from the near vicinity of Miller, the gathering of a group of families around him, and to the eventual rift between the two clearings. John's presence in Cook's settlement evidently is due simply to mutual liking on the parts of the two men. Edwin has a close friend named William in the settlement of Kurewa, and this friendship is doubtless to some extent responsible for the intermediate position which Edwin's family enjoys in the social life of Sawari.

I found no evidence that the friendships between women had any dynamic effect on social groupings in this settlement. Women's friends here, as elsewhere on the Barama, are the result of residence or contiguity determined by other factors.

561 **Age and Sex.** Well defined age groups are not present in Carib society. Girls are secluded at their first menstruation and are exhorted on the duties and conduct becoming to an adult woman by their older female relatives at this time, but without ceremony. This is the only special recognition taken of age changes. Nevertheless, as among all societies which do not formalize the age boundaries, informal recognition is taken of children, youths, adults, and old people.

● 895 583 Although not stated in so many words, an individual is not considered a full-fledged member of society until he is married. For instance, an underlying conception of this sort seems to motivate the proof of adulthood which is required of a man before the first marriage, and which takes the form of tests of fitness. (This seems at least as large a factor in the housebuilding, field-cutting, and hunting requirements demanded from the groom by his father-in-law as the factor of payment for the bride. Such tests are not required of a man at his subsequent marriages.) A woman's ability to care for a house and field, which is proven to the community after marriage, is apparently demanded before she is accepted as a full-fledged member of the female community. Also, both sexes assume certain responsibilities toward each other and toward the community at marriage (self-sustenance for their

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SR9 Carib SR9

household, a certain amount of fidelity to each other, rearing of children) which are not required of them before marriage.

Old people, of whom there are relatively few in this society, are treated with respect, but not exaggerated deference. In fact in many respects they are considered less than complete members of society, inasmuch as they are unable to carry out many of the functions required of more vigorous members of the group. The respect for old age varies with the intelligence of the aged individual. For instance, David at Sawari is deferred to on account of his lore and skill in religious techniques; his mind is still functioning actively, and thereby he maintains his social position despite his uselessness as a hunter and laborer. He is the only aged person in Sawari, and he is by no means completely decrepit. Two very infirm old women observed by me, one at Kurasani, the other at Baramita, were unable to move from their hammocks. They were fed and treated well, but ignored in regard to the decisive actions of their respective communities. Several old men, still more or less active physically, whom I observed at various places in the area, occupied positions no better and no worse than their personalities, physical exploits, and intelligence won for them. There is no pattern of implicitly obeying old age, of consulting it with reverence, simply because of age.

The Drinking Spree. We have discussed the underlying factors which serve to hold the individuals of the group together. In an individualistic community, where everyone goes about his own business and is largely self-reliant, what mechanism is at work to remind the members of the group of their common interests? We have seen that in everyday affairs men and women may meet face to face in pairs or threes, incidentally to their daily life, but we have as yet seen no occasion on which all the members of the group come together to renew the ties that bind them into one community. If one searches for a mechanism which periodically reunites the group, a mechanism of socialization, I think it must be found in the drinking spree.[1]

Throughout the year, when the cassava can be spared for making drink, sprees are held occasionally. During the months of

[1] Certain religious functions call together the whole community, notably the supplication to the spirits for a good cassava crop (described in the section on Religion). On these occasions, however, the lay members of the settlement are merely spectators or auditors of the ritual carried on by the piaiyen.

of children occurs throughout the segments of this population. The Air Strip population of 333 has 164 or 49.0 percent under ten. The remaining population of 218 in the satellite settlements includes 117 under ten. This is 53.7 percent of this portion of the population. As is apparent, the increase in population size and the change in reproductive pattern responsible for it have occurred commonly among the Upper Barama River Carib population.

With regard to the current reproductive pattern, a married state continues to be common for all adults of reproductive age. Also, there are no restrictions on the sexual activity of married couples, and the practice of couvade which rendered a father inactive in all ways for a few weeks after the birth of his child is being abandoned. Extramarital sexual encounters are common among all ages. Nevertheless, young women become pregnant for the first time usually between the ages of eighteen and twenty-two. After this, they have about twenty-five reproductive years during which a woman tends to give birth to a child every twenty to thirty months.[12] According to this pattern, every fertile woman has the potential to reproduce about twelve to thirteen children.[13] The women in monogamous as well as polygynous unions tend to realize this potential. Solien de González (1966) has suggested that long term, intensive lactation may supress ovulation. Although the interplay of behavioral and physiological factors may be complex, the reproductive results in this case are clear.

In the general ratio of women to children in the total population, there are eighty-two women between the ages of twenty and forty-four,